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ABSTRACT

This document contains three papers from a symposium on emotional intelligence, identity salience, and metaphors in human resource development (HRD). "Applying Client and Consultant Generated Metaphors in HRD: Lessons from Psychotherapy" (Darren Short) reviews some techniques that psychotherapists have devised for using their own metaphors and the metaphoric language of their clients as part of a process for understanding and transforming behavior and explores how they could be transferred to the helping relationship role of HRD consultants in organizations. "Emotional Intelligence: Review and Recommendations for Human Resource Development Research and Theory" (Lisa A. Weinberger) reviews the current state of research in emotional intelligence, explores the applicability of research on emotional intelligence to HRD, and concludes that the study of emotional intelligence and its relationship to leadership, management, teamwork, and team performance are areas ripe for further research in HRD. "Toward a More Harmonized View of Emotion Management: The Influence of Identity Salience" (C. Leanne Wells, Jamie L. Callahan) reviews the control distinction model of emotion management that was proposed by Callahan and McCollum and suggests that the concept of identity plays a useful role in further understanding the application and implications of emotion management in organizations. All three papers contain substantial bibliographies. (MN)

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Applying Client and Consultant Generated Metaphors in HRD: Lessons from Psychotherapy

Darren Short
Perspectives, UK

The metaphors we use shine a torch on how we perceive situations. For decades, some psychotherapists have used their own metaphors and the metaphoric language of their clients as part of a process to understand and transform behavior. This paper provides an overview of some of those techniques and an initial reaction to how they could be transferred to the helping relationship role of HRD consultants in organizations. The paper highlights the need for further research.

Keywords: Metaphor, Psychotherapy, Consultancy

Dedication: Much of this paper was written during September 11-15, 2001. It is dedicated to the volunteers from the Holy Heart of Mary High School, St Johns, Newfoundland, who looked after me, and the hundreds like me, stranded many miles from home.

As Schein (1999) described within the concept of appreciative inquiry, "our mental models and the metaphors we use for deciphering and labeling reality structure what we see and how we think about it" (p. 56). Situations will therefore be perceived differently by two individuals to the extent that the metaphoric structure, with which conceive reality, is similar or different. These structures can be grouped together to help summarize the ways in which many individuals perceive a set of situations, for example, Kuchinke's (2000) three theoretical approaches to HRD and examples of metaphoric language for each. Others of particular relevance to HRD include Marshak's (1993) grouping of metaphors for change and Morgan's eight metaphors for organizations.

Metaphors are always present in our language, and therefore offer a potential insight to how we conceive situations and responses. That is certainly the case within organizations, and there are many documented examples of metaphors being used by employees and leaders. There is also evidence of this metaphoric language being used in HRD work within organizations. Short (2000) highlighted examples covering: how perceptive organizational consultants notice the rich metaphorical language of clients and other stakeholders as they describe their work environment; and using metaphors to facilitate transformations in organizations, for examp le by identifying gaps between current and desired metaphors as catalysts of change or by facilitating change in organizations that is either incremental (within a metaphor) or fundamental (from one metaphor to another).

These cited examples describe the application of metaphor at a group or organizational level, where change is required by a group or across an organization. What is less clear from existing work is how to analyze and transform metaphor at an individual level. For example, imagine the situation where an HRD consultant is working one-to-one with a client: how does the consultant use metaphors introduced by the client, and how does the consultant introduce his/her own metaphors to aid understanding and transformation? Some of this work has been described within Neuro-Linguistic Programming texts, although has not been considered from an HRD research perspective nor linked into the recent work on metaphor in HRD published by HRD researchers (for example: Short, 2000; Ardichvili, 2001; Daley, 2001).

Contribution and Structure of This Paper

Many fields and disciplines have acted on the importance of studying metaphor, including psychology, information systems, psychotherapy, organization development, organizational change, teaching, and research; and suggestions have been made that HRD can learn from that study and can translate those lessons into the HRD context (Short, 2000). This paper focuses on application in HRD, and specifically on the way in which HRD consultants can apply metaphor in their one-to-one work. It does that by considering the potential lessons from the experiences of those applying metaphor in a field where equivalent one-to-one conversations are held between a 'consultant' and a 'client,' that of psychotherapy. There are, without doubt, other lessons to be learned from other fields and disciplines, but space dictates that this paper focuses on one.

This paper should be considered within the broader context of the recent developments in the study of metaphor in HRD. For example, the 2001 *Advances in Developing Human Resources* journal issue dedicated to metaphor in HRD closed some of the gap between metaphor study in HRD and those in other disciplines by

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illustrating metaphor in HRD research, practice, and education. Lessons for HRD from the application of metaphor in psychotherapy were touched upon briefly in the *Advances* issue. For example, Short (2001a) stated that, "consultants could adapt methods already being applied in psychotherapy to explore clients' metaphors" (p. 387). This paper picks up that hook and considers the methods applied in psychotherapeutic practices. It addresses the three questions: How are metaphors applied in psychotherapy? What can HRD learn from the application of metaphor in psychotherapy? What are the implications for HRD professionals?

The paper is structured to first describe metaphor theory; then the application of metaphor in psychotherapy; followed by a discussion section exploring the suitability of transferring the application techniques to HRD practice; and finally, an implications and conclusions section describing the need for further research and reflection on the application of metaphor in HRD practice.

Theoretical Framework on Metaphor

Metaphor is derived from the Greek *meta*, meaning 'above or over,' and *phorein*, meaning 'to carry or bear from one place to another.' Metaphors therefore carry meaning over from one domain to another (Kopp, 1995). To be a little more specific, a metaphor presents a way of seeing something as if it were something else and, by transferring meaning from one domain into another, it enriches and enhances both domains (Barrett & Cooperrider, 1990).

By presenting something as if it were something else, metaphors seek to generate new meaning for an existing entity or to fill gaps in our language. To use an example from HRD, the term 'brainstorming' fills a lexical gap by providing a powerful image of the activity rather than a longer literal description (Short, 2001b). That new meaning is typically generated by structuring inherently vague items in terms of something more concrete (Tsoukas, 1991), with the creative potential of metaphor depending on the tension between the two. People therefore conceive of something uncertain or unknown, such as an organization, by associating it with something they know a lot more about, such as a machine (Morgan, 1997). The generation of new meaning results from the partial nature of metaphors, and that partial nature implies that several metaphors are needed to provide a more rounded coverage of an entity. A good example is Morgan's (1997) use of eight metaphors to capture the different features of organizations: machine, organism, brain, culture, political system, psychic prison, flux and transformation, and instruments of domination.

Many theories have been offered to describe and explain different aspects of metaphorical language and metaphor processing (Cameron, 1999; Gibbs, 1999) but, more than any other, cognitive theories of metaphor have had the greatest impact on metaphor research and thinking over the past thirty years. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) proposed that metaphor is not just a matter of language, and that human thought processes are largely metaphorical; and this led an increasing agreement that metaphor is an indispensable basis of both language and thought (Goatly, 1997).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argued that such expressions as 'is that the foundation of your theory?' and 'the theory needs more support' do not exist individually as random clichés but instead reflect how we conceive of theories and arguments as kinds of buildings through the conceptual metaphor THEORIES (AND ARGUMENTS) ARE BUILDINGS. Many other mappings exist between language and conceptual metaphors, leading Lakoff (1993) to conclude that, "metaphor is not just a matter of language, but of thought and reason. The language is secondary. The mapping is primary, in that it sanctions the use of source domain language and inference patterns for target domain concepts" (p.208). Metaphors therefore operate as filters that screen some details and emphasize others, and in so doing they organize our view of the world (Barrett & Cooperrider, 1990). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argued that if a person values those factors highlighted or emphasized by a particular metaphor, then that metaphor can acquire the status of truth, and then guide future actions, justify inferences, and help set goals. Associating metaphor with action raises the potential for influencing future behavior through changes to metaphors, perhaps through the introduction of new and imaginative metaphors to change conceptual systems. This is not to suggest that language alone changes reality, but that changes in conceptual systems alter what is real for us and affect how we perceive the world and act upon those perceptions (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Many examples have been documented of how behavior change resulted from the introduction of new metaphors. Short (2001b) listed a few of these and their references, including: helping a dysfunctional group to liberate aspirations, decrease interpersonal conflict, build strategic consensus, and renew the collective will to act; reframing problems to produce innovative ways of tackling social policy problems; pictorial metaphors in computer-generated displays used in the development of professionals to guide future skilled action; 'unfreezing' organizations prior to change; and the reframing of client-generated metaphors in psychotherapy.

Metaphors in Psychotherapy

There are many different definitions and types of psychotherapy, although a central feature is that of the relationship between the therapist and the patient, which seeks to produce changes in cognition, feeling, and behavior (Holmes & Lindley, 1989). The therapy situation comprises three main elements: a healing agent (the therapist), a sufferer who is seeking relief, and a healing relationship that includes a structured series of contacts between the healer and sufferer (Frank & Frank, 1991). According to Lankton and Lankton (1983), the majority of clients enter psychotherapy as a 'last ditch effort' to gain relief from problems that are immediately threatening, where their perceptions about change may be locked or obscured and altering those perceptions is the foundation of change in psychotherapy.

Watzalawick (1978) identified two languages present in psychotherapy: the one was objective, definitional, cerebral, logical, and analytical – the language of reason, or science, of explanation and interpretation; the other was the language of imagery, metaphor, and symbols, which according to Lankton and Lankton (1983), engages normal comprehension-making mechanisms of the mind more effectively than logical speech. Watzalawick (1978) argued this was due in part to the way the brain processes metaphorical language. The left hemisphere of the brain tends to process information sequentially, building realities one piece at a time in terms of hierarchies, dealing with the logical and rational (Close, 1998). Consequently, when problems are tackled using the left hemisphere, it is possible that clients believe the soundness of the advice given to them but remain unable to make the needed changes in their behaviors and feelings (Barker, 1996). The right brain functions by grasping things in their entirety; it is the world of spatial awareness, visualization, music, art, drama, feelings, intuition, and spirituality (Close, 1998). Where a series of logical, rational treatment plans have failed, metaphors can bypass (or outflank) the left-brain, opening up potentials for creating new patterns and connections (Kopp, 1995), challenging and reframing existing world-views (Close, 1998), and so offering creative approaches to perception and behavior change (Barker, 1996).

The basis of metaphor in psychotherapy is the belief that new experiences and ideas can result from evoking and transforming metaphoric images. There are many examples of how metaphors, in the form of stories, have influenced the behaviors of many people, including religious parables and children's fables (Lankton & Lankton, 1983); and the application of metaphor in psychotherapy builds on the power of metaphor to affect behavior. Not that the application of metaphor in psychotherapy forms a new 'school' of therapy, but instead emphasizes the therapeutic interventions possible because of the metaphoric communication within existing methods (Kopp, 1995).

There are two broad classes of metaphor application in psychotherapy: client-generated, and therapist-generated (Kopp, 1995); and the literature review in this section provide an overview of each. The vast majority of accounts of metaphoric interventions in psychotherapy involves the use of therapist-generated metaphors, rather than client-generated (Kopp, 1995).

Therapist-Generated Metaphors in Psychotherapy

The general approach to using metaphors in psychotherapy, through stories and anecdotes, was pioneered by Milton Erickson, specifically within the context of Ericksonian hypnotherapy (Lankton & Lankton, 1983). Several features typified Erickson's approach, including the use of metaphor as part of an in indirect strategy, and the use of embedded metaphors (introducing new metaphors within other metaphors) as part of a conscious/unconscious dissociation. Whereas Erickson's application of metaphor was generally with clients in a state of hypnotic trance, others have documented the more general application of therapist-generated metaphors, including Barker (1996) who described eight types of metaphor introduced by therapists (also see Close, 1998, for examples of applications):

- Major stories – carefully constructed, often quite long, stories tailored to the specific needs of a clinical situation.
- Anecdotes and short stories – used with limited goals to make specific points in a concise and focused way.
- Analogies, similes, and brief metaphorical statements - have similar aims to anecdotes and are commonplace devices used in everyday conversation.
- Relationship metaphors - where one relationship is used as a metaphor for another.
- Tasks and rituals – valuable at transition points, such as the transition from one situation to another, or at the termination of therapy.
- Metaphorical objects – where one object is used in therapy to represent another.
- Artistic metaphors – allowing people to express their feelings and ideas through drawing, painting, sculpture, etc.
- Cartoon therapy – linked to artistic metaphors, this is used particularly with children .

Barker (1996) stated that all the different types have the same aim: of reframing (changing the meaning of something), by offering different understandings of situations, of people's views of themselves or others, of relationships, of how problems can be solved, of past experiences, and of what the future holds. This is achieved by using metaphors to make or illustrate points, suggest solutions, help people to recognize themselves, seed ideas, increase motivation, embed directives, decrease resistance, model a way of communication, etc., (Barker, 1996, citing from Zeig).

Client-Generated Metaphors in Psychotherapy

Kopp (1995) believed that, "a client's metaphoric language lies closer to the client's unconscious than any theory's metaphoric language. Thus, it is the metaphoric imagery created by the person that most directly represents that person's unconscious process" (p. 115). Kopp (1995) therefore described client-generated metaphors as "allowing both the therapist and the client [to] expand and deepen their understanding of the client's belief system reflected in the client's metaphoric speech and early childhood memory metaphors" (p. xvii). Kopp (1995) argued that there are six dimensions of client-generated metaphors that illustrate individual reality (he called there *metaphorms*). The six are, about the: self, one (either an individual or a group), life, self-self (the client's connection with themselves), self-other (the client's connection with an other), and self-life (the client's connection with life).

Emphasis on clients' metaphors requires that the therapy shifts into the domain of metaphoric imagery, with attention being paid less to the logical meaning associated with the communication content and more to the metaphoric image. This is achieved by the therapist facilitating the client's exploration of his or her own metaphoric imagery, avoiding external interpretations or frames of reference, as would be introduced if the therapist used his or her own metaphors. As Kopp stated (1995), through the therapy, "the client is freed by changing the metaphor, which can result in a change in the client's perception of reality. The changed metaphor is expanded to include a new possibility of relationship with self, others, and the world" (p. 107).

Kopp (1995) offered a six-step process for working with these client-generated metaphors as they appear in psychotherapy:

- Step 1: The therapist notices metaphors present in the client's communication.
- Step 2a: The therapist invites the client to explore his or her own metaphoric images.
- Step 2b: If the client does not understand or respond, the therapist prompts for descriptions, potentially by offering their own images.
- Step 3: The therapist invites the client to explore the metaphor as a sensory image (building on the description of the image, who is involved, what is happening, etc).
- Step 4: The therapist invites the client to describe the feelings and experiences associated with the image.
- Step 5: The therapist invites the client to transform the metaphor whether by changing the metaphoric image or by inviting the client to consider a change suggested by the therapist.
- Step 6: The therapist invites the client to build a bridge back to the original situation.

Exploring the Similarities Between Psychotherapy Metaphor and Applications in HRD

HRD and Psychotherapy: Overview

There are clear links between HRD and psychology (Swanson, 1992), with psychology being described as one of the root disciplines of HRD; however, specific associations with psychotherapy have been explored less thoroughly. Nevertheless, there are similarities between the descriptions of psychotherapy offered earlier in the paper by Frank and Frank (1991) and by Holmes and Lindley (1989) and descriptions of organizational consultancy and the helping relationship role of consultants described by Schein (1999).

Many descriptions have been offered for the stages involved in training and OD, and these tend to stress the importance of HRD professionals understanding the situation, designing or working with clients to design interventions, and supporting clients through implementation of interventions (amongst other key stages). The main intended outcome for such interventions is behavior change, usually described in terms of performance improvement. Where such interventions involve one-to-one work with clients, HRD professionals and psychotherapists are involved in equivalent activities in supporting clients, understanding problem situations and their root causes, tackling beliefs and unchallenged assumptions that underpin current behaviors, tackling those causes, and encouraging behavior change. The practice remit of most HRD professionals goes beyond this, for

example to deal more frequently with group and organizational levels, but this paper concentrates on the similarities between psychotherapy and HRD at an individual level. The implications will be considered in terms of client-generated and therapist-generated (the term 'consultant-generated' will be used when referring to application by HRD professionals).

A process for Using Client-generated Metaphors in HRD

Some work has already been completed on using client-generated metaphors in HRD practice, at least in terms of understanding the current situation. Basten (2001), for example, used an adapted learning history instrument to analyze interviews with employees, and so to highlight metaphors employees used to describe their organization's culture. She identified a dominant metaphor of the organization as a pioneer, with at least three themes of the organization on a journey, as a building, and in a battle. These were then contrasted with metaphors identified from key documents from the organization. The method was offered as a means of deriving an agreed history of the problem or situation, of tracking changes in metaphor over time, and of raising levels of awareness on dominant metaphors and their impact on employee behavior.

However, Kopp's (1995) work on client-generated metaphors in psychotherapy went much further by illustrating applications to changing client behaviors. He offered both six metaphorms (six dimensions of metaphoric structure) and six steps for sing client-generated metaphors. His six metaphorms can be translated into the context of HRD as being:

- Self – e.g. I am trapped in this job and ready to explode.
- Other – e.g. my boss is a baboon, my work team is a bunch of circus clowns.
- Life – e.g. work is a maze with snipers hidden in the bushes.
- Self-self – e.g. I keep banging my head against a wall.
- Self-other – e.g. I am trying to transform my team into superheroes.
- Self-life – e.g. my career is sinking into the quicksand.

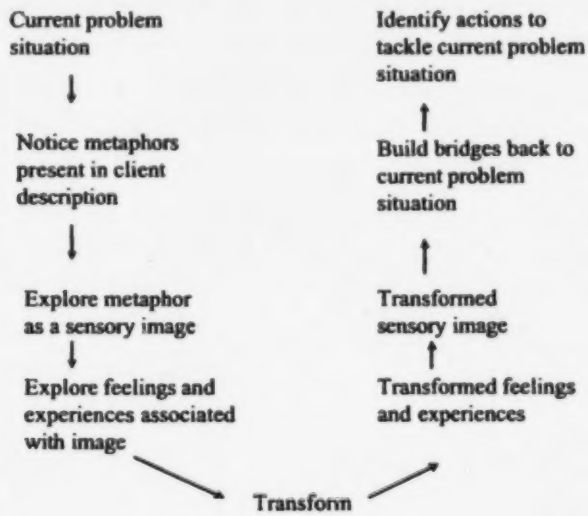
Being aware of these six metaphorms helps HRD professionals to develop a more holistic understanding of how clients structure their reality. For example, through several discussions and careful analysis of the metaphors used, HRD professionals can gain a picture of how reality is perceived by the client relative to themselves, those they work with, their work life, and their relation to others and their work. As part of that process, or as a separate process, HRD professionals can adapt Kopp's six stages into seven steps for facilitating behavior change in clients using the reframing of metaphors. Those seven steps are:

- Step 1: The HRD professional notices metaphors present in the client's communication. To illustrate possible examples, Basten's (2001) case study included: we are trying to keep our heads above water; it is like fighting windmills constantly; the idea has been shot at twice already but keeps coming back. This requires that the HRD professional tunes into metaphoric language, although without tuning out literal descriptions (and so listening with both hemispheres of the brain).
- Step 2: The HRD professional invites the client to explore his or her own metaphoric images (if needed, prompting the client using the professional's own examples). This step involves developing the metaphor from a short statement and into a mental image, for example by asking, "what does fighting windmills look like?" or "when you say the idea has been shot at twice, what image occurs to you?" Note the importance of using the language of the client, and inviting him or her to generate a mental image.
- Step 3: The HRD professional invites the client to explore the metaphor as a sensory image (building on the description of the image, who is involved, what is happening, etc). This involves exploring a few of the sensory aspects of the image, such as what else the client sees or hears in the image, by asking: "Who is in the image, and what are they doing?" "What is happening in the image, and what happened before this point?" "What happens next?"
- Step 4: Once the client has finished exploring the imagery, the HRD professional invites him or her to describe the feelings and experiences associated with the image. Again, the HRD professional stays within the metaphoric image, avoiding introducing new content, by asking such questions as: "What's it like to be fighting windmills?" or "What are you feeling as you try to keep your head above water?"
- Step 5: When exploring the metaphoric image seems complete, the HRD professional invites the client to transform the metaphoric image. The ideal is for the client to change the metaphoric image, however in some case it may be necessary to invite clients to consider suggested changes. The rationale behind this step is that the metaphoric image represents the original situation as described using metaphoric terms, and so changing the image can produce changes to the metaphoric terms and how the original situation is

perceived. Changing the metaphoric image requires that the client considers how he or she needs or wants to feel or experience, and what the sensory image should be.

- Step 6: After facilitating a change in the image, the HRD professional then invites the client to build a bridge back to the original situation using a two-stage approach. First, the HRD professional asks, "What parallels do you see between your original image and the current situation you face," and invites discussion of the similarities. Second, the HRD professional asks, "How might the way you changed the image apply to your current situation?"
- Step 7: As the changed image produces new insights on the current situation, the HRD professional encourages the client to identify specific actions he or she can take within the current situation and in the direction suggested by the changed metaphoric image.

Figure 1: Diagram of the steps for applying client-generated metaphor in one-to-one HRD practice


Current problem situation
Notice metaphors present in client description
Explore metaphor as a sensory image
Explore feelings and experiences associated with image
Transform
Transformed feelings and experiences
Transformed sensory image
Build bridges back to current problem situation
Identify actions to tackle current problem situation

Applying the Client-generated Metaphor Process in HRD Practice

This seven-stage process is not intended as a replacement for existing conversations between HRD professionals and their clients, nor should it be viewed as an HRD professional's primary means of approaching behavior change in one-to-one consulting or counseling situations. However, it does offer HRD professionals an additional technique for applying in particular situations, and best practice will need to be determined through research (in terms of when and how to use metaphors in one-to-one HRD situations). More work is also needed to determine how the above steps can be applied to different situations, for example, whether there is a shortened version of the process that can be applied in certain situations without the need to work through all seven.

In the meantime, experience from application in psychotherapy offers some insights to the 'when' and 'how' of client-generated metaphor application in HRD, including:

- Certain clients will be more open than others to exploring metaphor in conversations with HRD professionals. It is possible that some already make deliberate use of metaphor, for example as a tool to describe situations to their employees or to the HRD professional. Such individuals are likely to be more open to exploring the metaphoric images, and potential changes to those images, that flow from their metaphoric language. Others are likely to be more reluctant. HRD professionals need to use their judgment when deciding how to introduce metaphor into their one-to-one work with a specific client, if at all.
- Part of the decision on timing may involve the degree of rapport developed between the HRD professional and the client. Where there is a long-term trusting relationship, HRD professionals are likely to find it easier to introduce metaphor into their one-to-one work with that client. Earlier attempts, without the

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foundation of a strong relationship, may lead the client to reject the process.

- HRD professionals should use metaphor in their one-to-one work as part of an overarching strategy to help the client. That is, HRD professionals should have clear goals for introducing metaphor into their work, and those goals should be aligned with other work being completed to support the client. Metaphor should not be used simply because it is different, novel, creative, etc., but because the HRD professional has explicitly selected metaphor as a suitable way to facilitate changes in clients' perception and subsequently behavior.

A process for Using Consultant-generated Metaphors in HRD

Several books are already available that offer HRD professionals a source of metaphor, in the form of stories, that can be introduced as consultant-generated either in a one-to-one or group setting. Berman and Brown (2000), for example, offer stories to help with: overcoming barriers to learning, promoting self-esteem, successes and failures in the learning process, differentiating between wants and needs, leaving the past behind, dealing with conflict, etc. When used in group-settings, Berman and Brown (2000) provide HRD professionals with guidance on using guided visualization techniques to accompany the stories.

As with therapist-generated metaphor in psychotherapy, it is likely that metaphors generated by HRD professionals are used explicitly in behavior change far more than those generated by clients, in part because of the relative ease with which they can be introduced into dialogue. Using client-generated metaphors requires a deliberate, systematic process whereby the HRD professional pays attention to client metaphor, then works with the client to explore them and draw parallels between current and desired situations. On the other hand, consultant-generated metaphors, particularly in the form of stories or anecdotes, can just be slotted into dialogues (for example, to emphasize the need for change), and it is likely that this happens on a regular basis without drawing attention to the role of metaphor in the change process.

Whereas the use of client-generated metaphor requires adopting a specific process, using consultant-generated metaphors may mean that the HRD professional can apply the process that he or she would normally adopt when working with clients to understand situations or identify possible actions. This would, of course, depending on the type of metaphor used. Although building metaphor into existing processes is possible, experience from the application in psychotherapy illustrates the importance of paying careful attention to selecting the best metaphor, to the help clients may need to understand the parallels between their situation and the messages in the metaphor, and to the potential for returning back to the metaphor during long dialogues or a series of them.

Some of the metaphor options available to HRD professionals include those identified by Barker (1996) for psychotherapy: major stories; anecdotes and short stories; analogies, similes, and brief metaphorical statements; relationship metaphors; tasks and rituals; metaphorical objects; artistic metaphors; cartoon therapy; and artistic metaphors. Each offers the potential for application in HRD one-to-one work with clients, and research is needed to determine how each is currently used and best practice in their application.

Conclusions and Implications for HRD

This paper set out to build on the recent work on metaphor in HRD and, in particular, on the journal *Advances in Developing Human Resources* dedicated to metaphor in HRD research, practice, and education. In the *Advances*, Short (2001a) identified that there was still much for HRD to learn from exploring the application of metaphor in other disciplines, and that was particularly the case for HRD practitioners who could further extend their use of metaphor in working with clients. Although a number of disciplines could have been selected for study, this paper concentrated on psychotherapy, where metaphor application is well documented. The paper therefore explored how metaphors are applied in psychotherapy, what HRD can learn from that application, and the implications for HRD.

As the literature review in the paper demonstrated, psychotherapy has recognized the potential for metaphors to assist in changing perceptions and behaviors both in terms of client- and therapist- generated metaphors. There are potential advantages for HRD from considering the lesson from both types, although the space available in this paper meant that it could only scratch the surface. In doing that, it highlighted the potential from exploring the Kopp (1995) six-metaphorm structure for understanding reality as perceived by the client, and also the potential from adapting Kopp's process for using client-generated metaphor during HRD consultancy. Lessons from adapting the Ericksonian approach of therapist-generated metaphors were explored in less detail in this paper, although there is a need for that work. As well as such specific work, this paper has also demonstrated the potential gains from continuing the journey through further research and scholarly practice by examining such questions as:

- Which HRD problems lend themselves most readily to the application of metaphor?
- Which HRD clients lend themselves most readily to the application of metaphor?

- What context is required for introducing metaphor application (for example, in terms of the relationship between the HRD professional and the client)?
- What training or professional development do HRD professionals need in preparation for building metaphor into their work?

In terms of scholarly practice, this paper calls for increased sharing of practitioner accounts of using metaphor, where HRD professionals are working to support changes in how situations are perceived and to facilitate behavior changes. Through the sharing of case studies, answers will gradually emerge to the above questions.

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Emotional Intelligence: Review & Recommendations for Human Resource Development Research and Theory

Lisa A. Weinberger
University of Minnesota

Emotional intelligence is now being referred to as the panacea for all organizational performance ills. It is these types of broad generalizations that move this area of interest dangerously close to a corporate fad. A more limited perspective of emotional intelligence, however, may provide an avenue for further research. The purpose of this paper is to review the current state of research in emotional intelligence and to explore the applicability of this phenomenon to HRD.

Keywords: Emotional Intelligence, Organizational Performance

The field of organizational behavior consists of the systematic study of the actions and attitudes that members exhibit. Those actions and attitudes are displayed through the activity of lived emotion, through workday frustrations and passions, which are deeply woven into organizational roles and characterize and inform organizational processes (Fineman, 2000a). These organizations and their processes are a network of feedback systems. This systemic activity is a foundation of an organization. The effectiveness of this systemic activity, through the actions of its organizational members can drive individual and organizational performance.

There has been a surge of interest in Emotional Intelligence through the 1990's, especially with the popular publication of Goleman's (1995) book entitled *Emotional Intelligence*. The study of areas to improve individual and organizational performance exists within the field of Human Resource Development (HRD). Looking to the framework of emotional intelligence may provide an additional pathway for research for HRD scholars. Emotional Intelligence as defined by Mayer and Salovey (1997) is:

> ....the ability to perceive accurately, appraise, and express emotion; the ability to access and/or generate feelings when they facilitate thought; the ability to understand emotion and emotional knowledge; and the ability to regulate emotions to promote emotional and intellectual growth (p. 10).

The purpose of this paper is to review the current state of research in emotional intelligence and to explore the applicability of this phenomenon to HRD. The basis of emotional intelligence first comes with an understanding of the role of emotion at work and the respective research in that area. From this basis, additional details into research in emotional intelligence will be identified along with its applicability to HRD. This literature review will be limited to those primary contributors in the respective areas.

Study of Emotion

The study of emotional intelligence has emerged out of the psychological domain within the overall study of emotion. Emotion research itself has been driven primarily from a sociological and psychological perspective. Various research interests exist within each domain of study.

Sociological Perspective

Much of the sociological emotion at work research is based on the groundbreaking research of Hochschild (1979). In her essay, she proposed that a perspective of emotion management provides a lens through which one can inspect the self, interactions and structure. She identified "feeling rules" which were guidelines within the organization that governed how people try or do not try to feel in ways "appropriate to the situation". Emotion management is the type of work that is required to deal with the organizational "feeling rules". Hochschild (1983) furthered this work and defined emotion management as the "management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (p. 7).

Emotions can be indicators of well-being and happiness. Prior to Hochschild, Goffman (1969) considered that many of the emotions conveyed by employees could be thought of as control moves. These control moves are the "intentional effort of an informant to produce expressions he thinks will improve his situation if they are gleaned

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by an observer" (p. 12). Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) followed the spirit of Goffman's writings in their paper where they considered work settings in which employees display emotions in order to fulfill role expectations.

Emotion is a component of communication, and for it to convey meaning the message must be encoded by a source and decoded by a receiver (Osgood, Suci & Tannebaum, 1957). These emotional messages or displays can be taught to employees through operant conditioning, socialization, informal organization, selection and even rewards. These rewards are used to encourage or discourage the display of certain emotions (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). But it is the organizational context that has the strongest influence over feelings conveyed at the outset of an emotional transaction. Because of this, Rafaeli and Sutton proposed, "emotion work can bring about immediate, encore and contagion gains (or losses) for the organization" (p. 29). This emotional contagion is the ability to have a heightened potential to infect others on an emotional plane through facial and vocal expressions and posture (Domagalski, 1999).

Callahan and McCollum (2001), Short (2001) and Turnball (2001) are currently completing emotion work in the field of HRD. Callahan and McCollum describe a framework for conceptualizing emotional behavior in an organizational context. Short looks to analyzing training from an emotion perspective and Turnball looks at the role of emotions in a corporate change program. These HRD scholars, as well as Hochshild, Goffman and Rafaeli & Sutton are looking into the role of emotion work from a sociological perspective, but of what interest would the construct of emotional intelligence be from a psychological perspective?

Psychological Perspective

The definition of HRD has evolved and still today, numerous definitions exist (Weinberger, 1998). HRD defined as "a process of developing and or unleashing human expertise through organization development and personnel training and development for the purpose of improving performance" (Swanson, 1995, p. 208) has the greatest utility from an organizational performance perspective. Various definitions of emotional intelligence also exist. The Mayer and Salovey (1997) definition of emotional intelligence however, has a narrower, more focused perspective as opposed to the multitude of broad-based definitions put forward by Goleman (1995, 1998) and others. The development of unleashing human expertise is a critical component for HRD. In general, expertise is defined as "displayed behavior within a specialized domain and/or related domain in the form of consistently demonstrated actions of an individual that are both optimally efficient in their execution and effective in their results" (Herling, 2000, p. 20). Emotional intelligence and its relationship to various forms of expertise provide the applicability of this construct to HRD.

Current State of Emotional Intelligence

In order to more effectively understand the emotional intelligence framework, a brief review into historical roots provides the foundation. Beginning with the roots of the words "intelligence" and "emotion".

Historical Roots

Detterman (1986) defines intelligence as a "finite set of independent abilities operating as a complex system"(p. 57). He describes success in understanding this system of intelligence as directly related to our ability to obtain independent measures of the various parts of the system. Emotional intelligence is proposed to be one of those parts of the larger construct of intelligence. Weschler (1958) defines intelligence as "the aggregate or global capacity of the individual to act purposefully, to think rationally, and to deal effectively with his environment" (p. 10). So, intelligence could be described as the umbrella, with various components or dimensions of intelligence underneath.

Emotion is defined as a "mental state of readiness that arises from cognitive appraisal of events or thoughts; has a phenomenological tone; is accompanied by physiological processes; is often expressed physically (e.g., in gestures, posture, facial features); and may result in specific actions to affirm or cope with the emotion, depending on its nature and meaning for the person having it" (Bagozzi, Gopinath & Nyer, 1999, p. 186). Emotions are organized responses that include physiological, cognitive, motivational and experiential systems (Salovey & Mayer, 1990). A few basic examples of such emotions are happiness, fear, surprise, anger, and disgust. When discussing emotions, we're not only referring to those extreme emotions, such as intense anger, but the everyday emotions of living and communicating. Expressed emotion is therefore part of the work role.

The roots of emotional intelligence are found in the concept of social intelligence. Thorndike (1920) defined social intelligence as "the ability to understand and manage men and women, boys and girls – to act wisely in human relations" (p. 228). Sternberg (1985) views social intelligence also within a general theory of intelligence as "the

mental processes and structures used to attain contextual success" (p. 330). Ford and Tisak (1983) further refine the definition to "one's ability to accomplish relevant objectives in specific social settings" (p. 197). This third operational definition is focusing on specific real-life social interactions and the ways that individuals have learned to deal with those specific situations and includes some self-assessment of one's social skills and interests (Brown & Anthony, 1990).

Beyond social intelligence, Gardner (1983) proposed his theory of multiple intelligences, which included both inter and intra personal intelligences. Both of these domains constitute social intelligence according to Gardner. He defines them as:

> Interpersonal intelligence is the ability to understand other people: what motivates them, how they work, how to work cooperatively with them...Intrapersonal Intelligence...is a correlative ability turned inward. It is a capacity to form an accurate, veridical model of oneself and to be able to use that model to operate effectively in life. (p. 25).

With the components of intelligence, social intelligence and emotion, Salovey and Mayer (1990) proposed that emotional intelligence is a subset of social intelligence and is part of Gardner's view of the personal intelligences. They described emotional intelligence abilities that may be categorized into five domains: a) self-awareness; b) managing emotions; c) motivating oneself; d) empathy; and e) handling relationships. Emotional intelligence includes a set of conceptually related mental processes involving emotional information which include a) appraising and expressing emotions in self and others; b) regulating emotions in the self and others, and; c) using emotions in adaptive ways. The key here is that they are mental processes. Emotional intelligence includes the "recognition and use of one's own and other's emotional states to solve problems and regulate behavior" (Salovey & Mayer, 1990, p. 189). Emotional intelligence is a combination of the idea that emotion makes thinking more intelligent and that one thinks more intelligently about emotions. Salovey and Mayer (1990) were the first to design a framework of emotional intelligence, and defined it as a "type of social intelligence that involves the ability to monitor one's own and others emotions, to discriminate among them, and to use the information to guide one's thinking and actions" (p. 189).

Models of Emotional Intelligence

Salovey and Mayer were one of the early pioneers in the area of emotional intelligence and throughout the 1990's have continued to publish many studies in this area. Goleman (1995) popularized the notion of emotional intelligence through his book *Emotional Intelligence* and followed in 1998 with *Working with Emotional Intelligence*. The writings in emotional intelligence have taken two different approaches. Mayer, Caruso and Salovey (2000) describe the first approach as a 'mixed model', which is a socio-emotional approach that includes not only abilities but is inclusive of many personality characteristics. This first model is a broad perspective and definition of emotional intelligence. The second approach is described as an 'ability model'. This approach defines emotional intelligence much narrower, and is exclusive of many of the personality characteristics that are included in the 'mixed model'. Following is a brief outline of the difference and the respective contributions.

Mixed Model Approach. Goleman (1995; 1998) is one of the earlier proponents of the "mixed model" of emotional intelligence. Goleman used neuroscience and psychological theories to form the basis for his descriptions of emotional intelligence. He defined emotional intelligence as one's ability to "motivate oneself and persist in the face of frustrations; to control impulses and delay gratification; to regulate one's moods and keep distress from swamping the ability to think; to empathize and to hope" (Goleman, 1995, p. 34). He further described it as a set of traits that could be referred to as one's "character". Bar-On (1995) also looked at emotional intelligence from a mixed model perspective. He defined emotional intelligence as "an array of capabilities, competencies and skills which influence one's ability to succeed in coping with environmental demands and pressures" (1995, p.5).

Mayer and Salovey (1997) have said that their first 1990 (Salovey and Mayer) definition of emotional intelligence would also fall more under the "mixed model" definition. Other mixed model authors such as Cooper (1997) and Cooper and Salwaf (1997) in their book *Executive EQ*, tried to take the emotional intelligence construct and apply it to executives in an organizational context. They developed their four-cornerstone model of emotional intelligence, which includes: a) Emotional literacy; b) Emotional fitness; c) Emotional depth; and d) Emotional alchemy (Cooper, 1997). The authors describe each cornerstone, or aspect of emotional intelligences as a tributary. Trust is a key component for emotional fitness, whereas character and integrity are critical for emotional depth. The blending of all the forces is called emotional alchemy.

The difficulty with these various mixed model definitions of emotional intelligence is that they take a rather broad stroke at the construct of emotional intelligence. The broader the perspective, the more difficult it is to

measure and attribute to key outcomes. In addition, these broader definitions within the "mixed model" framework results in a series of descriptions of pro-social behaviors and personality traits and not a more restrictive definition of emotional intelligence (Bryant, 2001). This tends to be the direction of most popular press writing in this area as well. The more focused, limited, definition of the "ability model" of emotional intelligence provides a greater research avenue, as these components are not already accounted for by existing personality theories and measures.

Ability Model Approach. Mayer and Salovey modified their definition in 1997 to clarify some potential holes and misunderstandings and further delimit their perspective to an ability focus (see page 1 for definition). The key assumption underlying this definition is the connection between emotions and intelligence. It is the ability to think intelligently about emotions as well as the ability to use emotions to think intelligently that is critical to the perspective of Mayer and Salovey (Graves, 1999). The authors Mayer, Salovey and Caruso are the only researchers to put forward a more limited view of emotional intelligence, within the "ability model" framework. With this foundation of Emotional Intelligence, what are some possible implications for the field of study of HRD?

Emotional Intelligence in the Organization

Much of the popular press espoused the benefits of emotional intelligence as the key foundation to an organizations success. These key benefits were supported through a great deal of anecdotal evidence. There were, however, several research studies that looked at the role of emotional intelligence in the workplace. Abraham (1999) conceptualized emotional intelligence within the framework of the organization. The purpose of this conceptualization was to provide a framework for future empirical research. The authors' framework consisted of nine propositions of emotional intelligence ranging from is relationship to work group cohesion, to performance, organizational commitment and organizational citizenship.

Abraham (2000) looked at the role of emotional intelligence and its impact with job control. The author proposed that job control might affect the consequences of emotional intelligence through the ability of emotionally intelligent individuals to present themselves favorably and to relate problems to internal emotional experience. This author found that emotional intelligence was significantly associated with organizational commitment and that it predicted a large amount of the variance in both job satisfaction and organizational commitment. A better understanding of organizational life however could occur through the exploration of the emotional interactions of top management, through the role of leadership.

Leadership

Emotions are an integral part of organizational life and they have applications to leadership (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995). There exist today many different organizational theories of leadership (Yukl & VanFleet, 1992). Many of the theories of leadership today have charisma as their core concept (as cited in Kuchinke, 1999). Weber (1968) initially defined charisma as a "quality of an individual personality, by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional qualities" (p. 48).

From the foundation of Weber, Bass (1985) developed a theory of transformational leadership, which distinguished it from transactional leadership. Transformational leadership occurred through the motivation of subordinates to perform at a higher level, offering intellectual challenges, paying attention to individual development needs and leading followers to a higher collective purpose, mission or vision. Transactional leadership occurred through a process of negotiation, rewards in exchange for attainment of specific goals and agreed upon tasks (Bass, Kuchinke). Transformational leadership, with its development out of charisma, has emotions as its base (Wasielewski, 1985).

Sosik and Megerian (1999) studied the relationship between aspects of emotional intelligence and transformational leadership behavior. They found that correlations between emotional intelligence predictors of leadership and leadership behavior differed based on categorizations of self-awareness. Those managers who maintained self-awareness, possessed more aspects of emotional intelligence and were rated as more effective by both their superiors and subordinates than those who were not as self-aware. This study provides some additional groundwork for developing and or improving emotional intelligence in organizational leaders.

Caruso, Mayer and Salovey (in press) look to addressing the role of emotional intelligence in leadership effectiveness. These authors describe that one of the goals of effective leadership is to "create and enhance individual and group relationships" (p. 6). Kahn (1993) cited by Caruso, Mayer and Salovey studied relationship formation as an emotional attachment. The ability of leaders to manage emotions effectively (a component of

emotional intelligence), has been supposed to foster this attachment. Through Caruso and Mayer's (in press) case studies, they provide another potential area of research for HRD scholars. Research questions in the areas of emotional intelligence and its relationship to different domains of leadership effectiveness looks to the expertise of leaders and whether emotional intelligence is significant to that expertise.

Management

In addition to leadership, the role of emotional intelligence to management development is another area of research interest to the field of HRD. Langley (2000) makes an argument for the importance of using emotional intelligence as a form of evaluating the competencies of various levels of management and providing the foundation for management development. Carson, Carson and Birkenmeier (2000) also management scholars, developed and validated an instrument for measuring emotional intelligence. Langley and Carson, Carson and Birkenmeier used the Goleman (1988) construct of emotional intelligence as the basis for their papers. As identified earlier, that construct is very broad, consequently, an exploration into the area of emotional intelligence from an ability model perspective and its relationship to management development would be an additional area of interest to HRD scholars.

Jordan (2000) recently reviewed emotional intelligence based on its contribution to the practice of management in organizations. This author looked to the Mayer and Salovey (1997) emotional intelligence framework as the most appropriate to evaluate the linkage between emotion and cognitive interactions and the resulting contributions to organizational performance.

Individual and Team Performance

Graves (1999) evaluated the relationship between emotional intelligence and cognitive ability and its ability to predict performance in job-simulated activities. Using the Mayer and Salovey (1997) framework and the MEIS instrument, Graves found that the emotional intelligence measures were not redundant with cognitive measures. And stated that "emotional intelligence and cognitive ability play equally important roles in explaining differences in people's ability to (a) influence and (b) demonstrate interpersonal competence" (p. 187). He found support for emotional intelligence as a predictor in adding value to an organization's selection processes. Graves (1999) concludes that if further results show that "emotional intelligence can be trained and it predicts job performance, the implications for selection, employee development, and performance evaluation could be staggering" (p. 195). These are all areas of research interest to HRD and its impact on performance.

Bryant (2001) is currently researching the relationship between emotional intelligence and sales performance. He specifically is looking to those factors that contribute to high performance in sales and their relationships to emotional intelligence. Additionally, his study is positioned to add to the normative data of the MSCEIT. Bryant is conducting his research within the HRD umbrella and his results will provide some of the first studies in HRD specifically associated with emotional intelligence.

Caruso and Wolfe (in press) explore the role of emotional intelligence in the workplace. Through their case study writings, they lay the foundation for empirical studies into the relationship between emotional intelligence and: a) career development; b) selection; c) training; and d) management development. From an HRD perspective, answers to these relationships would provide additional groundwork for their work in improving organizational performance.

Finally, Rice (1999) looked to the role of emotional intelligence and its impact on team performance. This work provides an initial inquiry into this area of study. HRD scholars interested in teams, team expertise and their resulting performance could look to the emotional intelligence framework for an additional area of study. All of these areas, organizational commitment, leadership effectiveness, management development, training and development and team performance remain fruitful areas of research for the HRD scholar. Using the emotional intelligence framework provides these researchers another perspective to evaluate these areas and their resulting impact on improving organizational performance.

Conclusion

Any new body of research interest provides researchers the opportunity to view, study and test it from a variety of perspectives. The area of emotional intelligence is no different. Unfortunately, the popular perception of this phenomenon is far ahead of its researched support. The domain of emotional intelligence study falls into two key categories. The first category defined by Goleman (1995,1998) and many others in the popular press, has been

described as the 'mixed model' approach. This model and its respective proponents continue to publish many articles, and it is the most well known within the business community. The continued proliferation of these tests, in multiple mediums through books, and internet on-line "quick tests" and the consultants using them with little scientific support, push this area of study dangerously close to the precipice of another corporate fad.

The second category is defined by the academic scholars Mayer and Salovey (1997) and has been described as the ability model approach. This approach more narrowly defines emotional intelligence from a cognitive ability perspective and minimizes the cross over into personality characteristics that convolute the "mixed perspective". This approach emerged through the research efforts of Mayer, Salovey and others through the 1990's. These authors have followed a more cautious path and have been more concerned with first appropriately defining emotional intelligence and creating an appropriate instrument to measure it than pushing forward into hypothetical outcomes and predictive power that has been the calling card of the Goleman camp.

The ability model perspective also provides a more appropriate avenue for researching the application of emotional intelligence to the field of HRD. The study of emotional intelligence and its relationship to leadership, management, teamwork and team performance are areas ripe for further research in HRD. Several research agenda's in the area of emotional intelligence to consider are:

- What is the relationship between emotional intelligence and leadership style?
- Does an emotionally intelligent leader produce better results?
- Can emotional intelligence be trained?
- Does ones emotional intelligence impact their performance?
- What is the role of emotional intelligence in team performance?
- Do emotionally intelligent individuals provide better service (customer service, technical support, sales support, etc.)?

Though these research agenda's are not all encompassing, they provide the initial connections to HRD theory and practice. The study of emotional intelligence from a more limited perspective and its connections to HRD theory will provide a more scholarly basis of work from which the HRD practitioner can pull from. Only when these theoretical connections and the resulting impact on organizational, process and individual performance are confirmed through solid research, can the HRD practitioner begin to utilize this information. It is this research that is required, in order to ensure that emotional intelligence is not pushed into another "corporate fad".

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Toward A More Harmonized View of Emotion Management: The Influence of Identity Salience

C. Leanne Wells
Virginia Tech

Jamie L. Callahan
Texas A&M University

Research on emotions in organizational life has increased substantially in the last decade. A number of models and theories have been proposed to help better understand the nature of this phenomenon. This paper reviews the control distinctions model of emotion management proposed by Callahan and McCollum (2000). We suggest that the concept of identity plays a useful role in further understanding the application and implications of emotion management in organizations.

Keywords: Identity, Emotion Management, Emotional Labor

Emotion management, specifically emotional labor, has become a popular topic in exploring the work of organizations. It is over two decades since Hochschild (1979) introduced her emotion systems theory. Volumes of literature and research have been devoted to exploring and testing this theory. A recent model introduced by Callahan and McCollum (2000) distinguishes the two terms of "emotion work" and "emotional labor" associated with emotion management. A key component of that model is the locus of control in the management of emotion; in other words, they explore who decides when and how an individual should manage emotion. The present paper looks at the nature of this control as it relates to emotion management and suggests that the incorporation of concepts of identity would help harmonize the various types of emotion management.

Our purpose is to explore how we can extend our understanding of emotion management in such a way that the interests of both the individual and the organization are honored. We specifically want to forge a path toward a more integrative perspective of emotion management efforts in order to appreciate more fully how this perspective may "speak" to us in terms of intervention efforts – both by the organization and by the individual – for future research opportunities. We believe that the literature on identity, with accompanying constructs such as self and identity salience, opens that path for us. In the present paper, we explore the literature on emotion management and then describe how the concepts of identity can be used to create greater harmony between individual and organization with regard to emotion management actions. We conclude with some implications of our present thinking for research and practice.

Emotion Management

Emotion management theory stems from Hochschild's (1979, 1983) work addressing the individual's attempts "to change in degree or quality an emotion or feeling" (1979, p. 561) based on social guidelines. She differentiates from earlier concepts posed by Goffman and Freud, seeing emotion management as a means of evoking, shaping, or suppressing emotions. Hochschild (1979) equates emotion management to deep acting – the management of the feelings underlying expression – a premise beyond Goffman's surface acting, which is management of expression alone. She also migrates from Freudian limitations of emotions as unconscious and involuntary to envisioning emotion management as an active process enacted "by self upon the self, by self upon others, and by others upon oneself" (1979, p. 562).

As an active, conscious, and voluntary process, emotion management often occurs when an individual perceives a discrepancy – Hochschild (1979) terms it a "misfit" or "pinch" – between what *is* felt and what *should* be felt as determined by social feeling rules. Serving as "baseline[s] in social exchanges" (Hochschild, p. 553), feeling rules not only govern an individual's feelings but also influence how that individual reacts to (thinks) and acts (behaves) upon those feelings. For example, when an individual receives a compliment, social feeling rules commonly dictate a feeling of gratitude. Beyond gratitude, feeling rules typically influence a cognitive reaction, such as "I like what she said and I should acknowledge it in an appreciative way," as well as behavioral reactions in the form of a smile, words of thanks, or a returned compliment.

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Beyond the "what" of these emotions, social feeling rules also define the "how much" and "how long" parameters of affective experiences (Hochschild, 1979). Continuing with the previous example, feeling rules would not only dictate appreciation but also determine the degree of appreciation you felt – perhaps as compared to how much appreciation you would feel if complimented on a different attribute or accomplishment, if the compliment had come from a different person, or if the compliment had been received in another social setting.

Display rules differ from feeling rules in that they characterize the behavior associated with emotions. While it was noted earlier that feeling rules influence actions, display rules have more power in predicting behavior. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) note display rules as norms, which can be defined on multiple social levels. For example, the behavior dictated by receiving a compliment might vary with the social setting or the social group. We might acknowledge an accepted societal display rule, which could differ from the norm defined by a subculture, an occupation, a family unit, or a specific organization. This difference does not have to be contradictory, although it is possible that it is. Each of us may agree that the general social norm for receiving a compliment is to display a smile and express verbal thanks. However, my subculture might dictate that I also display a blush with lowered eyes and verbally credit others who influenced or enabled my "success." Your organization may expect you to also extend a handshake and return a similar compliment.

Differentiating between display rules and feeling rules returns us to the concepts of surface acting and deep acting. Surface acting is a form of impression management in which the individual displays an emotion different from the felt emotion (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993). With deep acting, the individual attempts to feel the displayed emotion. Through cognitive, bodily, or expressive techniques - singly or combined – these deep-acting efforts aim at a "tripartite consistency" (Hochschild, 1979, p. 563) between the situation, the feeling, and the conventional frame. The individual receiving a compliment may actually feel embarrassment but display gratitude as expected within the social situation and the conventional frame. Using deep-acting techniques, that same individual works toward genuine feelings of gratitude, perhaps initially co-existing with but later replacing embarrassment.

In fact, the desire to reduce or eliminate inconsistency is so powerful, it is not uncommon for the individual to endeavor to change the situation when it is too much to change the emotion within a conventional frame (Francis, 1997). In this scenario, it is easy to envision the individual incapable of feeling genuine gratitude – and perhaps struggling unsuccessfully to surface the appropriate display of emotions – either quickly removing himself from the situation or redirecting the conversation and, in effect, ignoring the compliment. It is conceivable to believe that the individual may seek to remove future inconsistencies by avoiding similar situations or the person offering the compliment.

Some argue "society can regulate expressive behavior but not the individual's expressive experience" (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993, p. 97). But when "pinched," an individual using emotion management to reduce gaps and to create a fit between the "is" and "should" feelings is in reality regulating that expressive experience. As a social creature, the individual is unlikely to engage in any emotion management effort in a vacuum – exclusive of societal influence, if not societal regulation. To say this in a different way, the individual who successfully replaces the feeling of embarrassment with gratitude may at first have been *influenced* to do so. If emotion management– deep acting – is enduring, it can also be argued that society (or the social group) has indeed regulated the desired feeling or expressive experience.

Emotion Work versus Emotional Labor

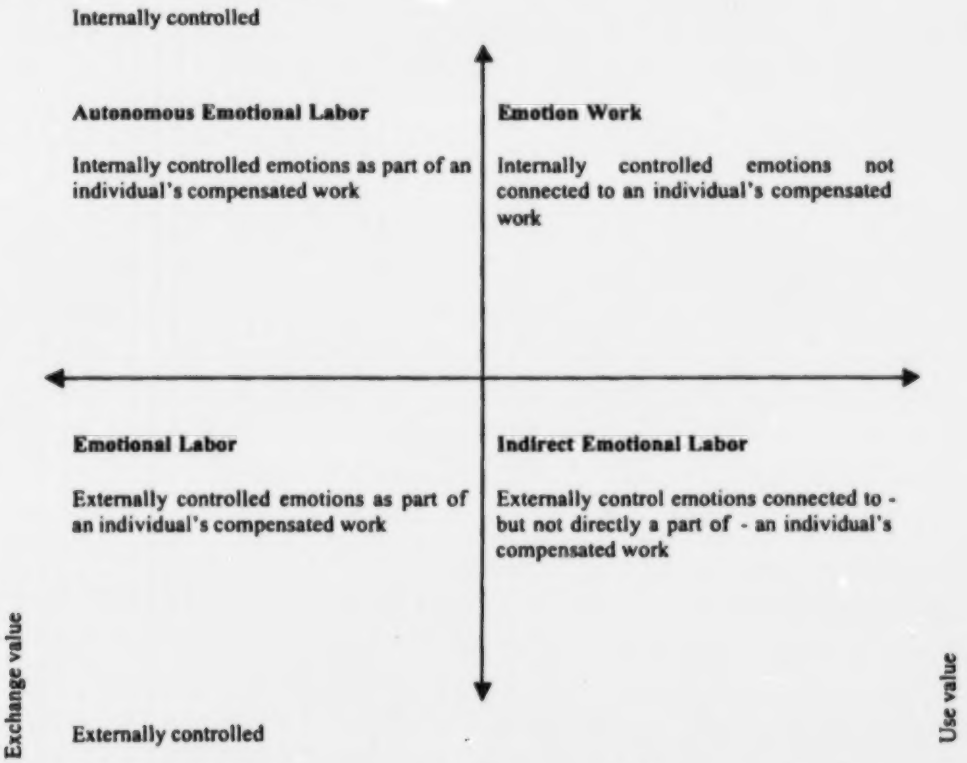
In her original work, Hochschild (1979) used emotion management synonymously with emotion work. Later, she distinguished emotion work from emotional labor using the Marxian differentiation between use value and exchange value (Hochschild, 1983). Here she conceived emotion work as "the management of feelings ... in a private context where they have use value," while positing emotional labor in a public context where feelings are "sold for a wage and therefore have exchange value" in an effort to produce "the proper state of mind in others" (1983, p. 7). Thus, the key to discriminating between emotion work and emotional labor is seemingly the purpose for which the emotion management is performed (Callahan and McCollum, 2000).

As Callahan and McCollum (2000) observe, the literature following Hochschild's 1983 work provides a number of interpretations regarding the terms emotion work and emotional labor – at times using them interchangeably, periodically failing to distinguish them from one another, and sometimes even confusing and contradicting the terms. In her study of emotional contagion among health-care employees, Strazdins observes "Hochschild's definitions of emotional labor and emotion management refer to the management of emotion in the self in order to display emotion, whereas emotional work refers to behaviors that alter other people's emotions" (2000, p. 3). In another comparison, she defines emotion management as how an individual impacts his own emotions, with

emotional contagion being how others' emotions impact the individual. Seeking to uncover "hidden workloads" in her study of university personnel, Pugliesi (1999) equates emotion management with emotion work, then distinguishes emotional labor as wage-compensated efforts, further denoting these efforts as regulated by the organization. Copp (1998) fails to make any distinction between emotion work and emotional labor, simply terming the efforts "emotion management" in her study of floor supervisors working with developmentally disabled staff. Similarly, Konradi (1999) makes no mention of the two terms, using the umbrella of "emotion management," in her examination of courtroom strategies of rape survivors. Thoits (1996) aligns with Hochschild's definitions but limits emotional labor as *self*-controlled efforts, labeling *other*-controlled strategies as interpersonal emotion management.

Citing a number of additional works, Callahan and McCollum contend "that distinction between emotion work and emotional labor is important not only to advance theory development but also to advance practical interventions in organizations" (2000, p. 18). They elect to use emotion management as an overarching term inclusive of both emotion work and emotional labor. As an advancement of Hochschild's (1979, 1983) emotion systems theory and spurred by Tolich's proposition that emotional labor "is not always under the control of the organization" (Callahan and McCollum, p. 9), they use dichotomies of exchange value/use value and of internally controlled/externally controlled to explain the type and power influence of emotion management, respectively. Their model is presented in Figure 1, with synthesized definitions of each quadrant provided by the present authors.

Figure 1. Forms of Emotion Management


Internally controlled
Autonomous Emotional Labor
Internally controlled emotions as part of an individual's compensated work
Emotion Work
Internally controlled emotions not connected to an individual's compensated work
Emotional Labor
Externally controlled emotions as part of an individual's compensated work
Indirect Emotional Labor
Externally control emotions connected to - but not directly a part of - an individual's compensated work
Exchange value
Externally controlled
Use value

The model provides clarity regarding the natures of exchange value and use value. Equally important is its addressing of control so often cited by other researchers as an important element of consideration when engaging in emotion management work. Their theory advancement allows not only for more targeted intervention strategies, which is the subject of their work, but also for keener insights into the nature of the individual engaging in emotion management efforts. How are the concepts of self and identity linked to emotion management, especially emotional labor? Which links – already observed and noted – can be further pursued, perhaps strengthened or enhanced? How might identification be an additional tool in harmonizing the control of emotion management efforts?

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Identity: Self, Salience, and Identification

Identity theory "explains social behavior in terms of the reciprocal relations between self and society" (Hogg, Terry & White, 1995, p. 256). Baumeister and Muraven (1996) see this as an adaptive process between the individual and the societal context. Mead (1934) asserts that the self emerges from social experience and develops according to its interactions and relationships with that experience and with other individuals. Indeed, he maintains that there is no self separate from the community and that it is only through "relationship to others ... through superiority to others, and inferiorities in comparison to others" (p. 204) that we realize self. Advancing this premise, the self is further defined by others' valuing and respect, and a sense of self is realized not only through personal actions but also through others' collaboration and influence, which if contested compromise that sense of self (Campbell, 1997). In essence, the self is a social collective, both complex and dynamic – learning, defining, maintaining, and appreciating itself through interaction with others.

A variety of social roles allows for multiple components of self or multiple identities (Terry, Hogg & White, 1999). Through Mead's (1934) eyes, we are a compilation of different selves, which uniquely and individually react to and interact with others and with social experiences. It is the reactions of others and society that determines which self we choose to be. As Mead alleges "the complete self is thus a reflection of the complete social process (p. 143). Thus, self and identity are each social constructs, emerging in part from the societal roles the individual assumes.

Mead (1934) identifies the unified self as consisting of separate "me's" and "I's. The "I" is an historical self, representing "the response ... to the attitudes of the others" or response to the social situation itself – a naïve source of "freedom, of initiative" (pp. 175, 177). In contrast, the "me" is more of a present self composed of all the historical "I's," representing "the organized set of attitudes" and "values of the social group" – a sophisticated, "conventional, habitual individual" (pp. 175, 197, 214). In other words, the "I" is a genuine, instinctive self, while the "me" – arguably no less genuine – is a more learned, developed self.

With the introduction of the "I" and "me," Mead (1934) infuses the self with an element of time. This element of time denotes a process of development, a "psychological unfolding of personality" piece by piece until the whole is formed (Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 1998, p. 197). As Campbell avers, a sense of self requires "opportunities to understand the self in relation to the past" and is dependent "on some of a person's experiences becoming memories" (1997, p. 55). As such memory, self, and person become inseparable, "braided concepts" and identity becomes linked "to sameness of memory over time" (Campbell, pp. 53, 63).

Essentially, the individual considers both past and future selves and strives for an integrated self, as well as a "defined personality within a social reality which one understands" (Robbins, Chatterjee & Canda, 1998, p. 198). To achieve such a synthesis, each individual responds to the social environment with distinct aptitudes. Kroger and Green credit Erikson with qualifying this phenomenon as "different capacities use different opportunities to become full-grown components of the ever-new configuration that is the growing personality" (1996, p. 477). Successful ego development leaves the individual with not only a strong sense of identity but also of individuality. As suggested, identity remains impressionable, susceptible to crisis and role confusion at any point during the lifespan.

Returning more fully to the concept of social role, Simon defines a role as a "set of expectations prescribing behavior that is considered appropriate by others" (Hogg, Terry & White, 1995, p. 257). Thus, an individual's sense of self is linked directly to behavior. As social creatures, the more closely that behavior aligns with the expectations and satisfaction of others, the greater the individual's sense of self and self-esteem. Misalignment often results in feelings of distress and self-doubt. The degree to which behavior is reflective of role expectations depends on the identity salience. The various identities forming the self are organized hierarchically with those nearer the top becoming more significant, whether in defining self (Hoelter, 1983) or in influencing behavior (Stryker, 1980). This identity salience explains why individuals "with the same role identities may behave differently in a given context" (p. 257).

In addition, identity is a means of making life meaningful and is connected to the individual's basic values (Baumeister & Muraven, 1996). They present a more modern – suggestive of more evolved – self where the individual "look[s] inside [herself] to find the sources of value and the answers to moral dilemmas (p. 410). This positions the self as a value base on its own merit and aligns the self with morality, contradicting historical moral mandates of self-restraint and self-deprivation in deference to others. With this freedom, the individual perhaps relies less on the social sanctioning of others (or society at large) for the development and approval of self than did his ancestors. With this evolution we recognize a more independent – although not separate – self. The old adage that "no man is an island" remains true, even in this modern world.

In an empirical study exploring the nature of role-identity salience, Callero (1985) supports the link between role-identity salience and behavior. Sustaining the concept of a more independent self, the study asserts that role

behavior is not significantly linked to the expectations of others. It does, however, reinforce the independent effects of the individual's self-definition of role, as well as the individual's identity salience with the role, in influencing behavior. As such, behavior in an identity-salient role is driven more by the expectations of individual than the expectations of others.

It is important to appreciate the complexity of identity salience. While the Callero study indicates a greater influence on identity salience by the individual, it does not negate the influence of others. It is more appropriate to consider the full realm of influence on identity salience. Hoelter's (1983) study intimates that identity salience increases with greater commitment to the identified role, as well as more positive evaluation of role performance. Commitment is directly related to the "cost of giving up meaningful relationships" (Stryker, 1968, p. 560), while role evaluation is attributed to the individual's self-reflexivity. Self-reflection is influenced by how others view and appraise the individual and how the individual compares self to others (Hoelter, 1983)

In a subsequent effort, Hoelter proposed a theory of personal consistency in which he notes identity salience as a product of the individual's "perceived power, activity and personal well-being" (1985, p. 118). Basically, Hoelter is addressing the individual's flexibility in responding to (i.e., behaving in) diverse social situations and social demands. The smaller the number of identities that are salient to the individual, the more likely he is to respond consistently, denoting a decreased sense of personal control within the given social setting. Not only must an individual have a high degree of identity salience, but also he must possess this salience *across* identities in order to perceive personal control and behave inconsistently (i.e., flexibly based on the uniqueness of the situation).

In summary, the self is a composite of identities largely defined through social interactions with others. Identity requires a past, a present, and a future. The individual, as an active agent within a social environment, taps into capacities and memories to take advantage of social opportunities that inform both current identity and the direction and development of future identity. One's sense of self predicts behavior, which is also reflective of social roles and the expectations of others. The degree to which an individual strives to align behaviors with these roles and social expectations depends on identity salience. As a social construct, the self does not strive to distinguish itself from these roles and social expectations or to relinquish ties to them. However, modern society has evolved to recognize the self as a moral agent, representative of the individual's basic values. This evolution gives the individual social permission to act and behave in ways that are protective of identity, self, and needs. When the needs of others and the needs of self misalign or conflict, the individual may choose options historically "unavailable." Even in instances where significant social others disagree or disapprove of the choices, the larger society provides empathy and sanction for these individual decisions. When examining or anticipating behavior, it is critical to appreciate locus of control in the role of the self, as well as the role of social others.

Emotion Management And Identity

Hochschild (1983) herself connects emotion management, specifically emotional labor, with the concepts of self and role identity. She notes that emotional labor "calls for a coordination of mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and integral to our individuality" (p. 7). In highlighting the culture's celebration of the unmanaged heart, Hochschild depicts the managed heart as an apparent antithesis of the authentic, natural, or spontaneous self. Further, she claims "emotional labor poses a challenge to a person's sense of self," as it becomes an issue of "estrangement between what a person senses as her 'true self' and her inner and outer acting" (p. 136).

A lack of authenticity arises when the individual fails to perform deep acting and must rely on surface acting for job performance. When deep acting is required but unachievable, "the only way to salvage a sense of self esteem ... is to define the job as 'illusion making' and to remove the self from the job, to take it lightly, unseriously. Less of the job reflects on the self; the self is 'smaller'" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 135). In removing the "real" self from the job, the individual creates a false self, a "disbelieved, unclaimed self, a part of 'me' that is not 'really me'" (p. 194). Hochschild emphasizes a danger in "overdeveloping the false self and losing track of its boundaries" (p. 195).

And while she admits that this separation between a real and false self is sometimes wise, sometimes saving, Hochschild equally acknowledges this fissure as problematic: "For in dividing up our sense of self, in order to save the 'real' self from unwelcome intrusions, we necessary relinquish a healthy sense of wholeness. We come to accept as normal the tension we feel between our 'real' and our 'on-stage' selves" (1983, p. 183-184). We may begin to "act to please others at the expense of our own needs and desires" (p. 194).

The cost to the self – "real" and collective – can be costly. As Hochschild sees it "the essential problem is how to adjust one's self to the role in a way that allows some flow of self into the role but minimizes the stress the role puts on the self" (1983, p. 188). For Hochschild, emotional labor seems to require a separation between self and role, specifically work role. In comparison, Ashforth and Humphrey expand the definition of emotional labor and,

drawing on social identity theory, surmise "the greater the identity with role, the weaker the negative effects of emotional labor and the stronger the positive effects on well-being" (1993, p. 89). As such, they acknowledge the risk to self from emotional labor efforts, while offering identity as a means of moderating these potentially negative effects. They also allow for the display of genuine emotion as inclusive of emotional labor itself.

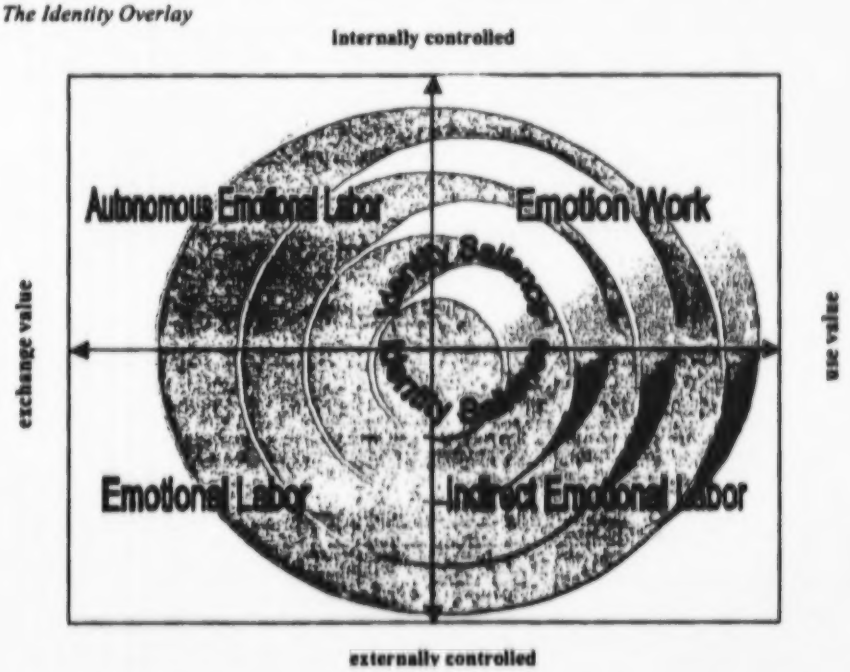
As mentioned earlier, the degree of identity salience directly associates with the individual's sense of authenticity. Stated another way, the less discrepancy I feel between my role and my identity, the stronger my sense of self value or self worth. Using Thoits' terms, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) categorize the possibilities as follows. Emotional labor provides the individual an opportunity for either an "identity-relevant" experience – one that is meaningful to the salient identity – or an "identity-irrelevant" experience – one that holds little if any meaning for the salient identity. An "identity relevant" experience proves to be "identity enhancing" if the emotional labor strongly associates with the salient identity. In contrast, when the emotional labor strongly opposes the salient identity, the "identity relevant" experience becomes "identity threatening." As noted earlier, Hochschild (1979) maintained that the aim of deep acting is to achieve "tripartite consistency" between the situation, the feeling, and the conventional frame. For emotion management efforts to be healthy (i.e., identity enhancing rather than identity threatening), it seems a similar relationship is needed between role, self, and identity. Otherwise, it is reasonable to assume the individual will experience some degree of emotional dissonance and self-alienation.

Insights and Implications

In further clarifying emotion work and emotional labor and in acknowledging the control base of these efforts (i.e., internal self and external others), Callahan and McCollum (2000) advocate for supplemental lenses for considering emotion management activities, especially when selecting and implementing organizational intervention strategies. Their control continuum invites additional regard for the individual managing emotions. The element of identity salience seems a particularly compelling consideration.

It seems self-evident that individuals with high-salient work identities are more invested in the organization. The emotion management experiences of these individuals are more likely to be identity relevant and identity enhancing. They are perhaps more receptive to organizationally-controlled emotion management interventions. They are more likely to engage – readily and successfully – in self-controlled emotion management interventions. These individuals may exhibit a more balanced reliance between self and the organization when engaging in emotion management strategies, for their efforts aim not only for a fit within the organization but also for affirmation of self.

Figure 2. The Identity Overlay



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An overlay of identity salience onto the Callahan-McCollum model might be represented as in Figure 2. Identity salience is strongest at the center of the diagram. The smaller concentric circles reflect the balanced reliance between self and organization. The smaller the circle, the greater the focus on harmonization between the four basic modes of emotion management. As identity salience increases, the focus of control over emotion management becomes more balanced in any given organizational role. In other words, because high identity salience incorporates components of both individual and organizational, actions of emotion management would be guided by relatively equal amounts of internal and external control.

It is important to note the assumptions for this adapted model. First, just as Callahan and McCollum (2000) noted a systems perspective in identifying intervention strategies, we expect an individual to engage in organizational emotion management efforts across the four quadrants. Second, as it is commonly recognized that an individual identifies with multiple social roles, this same multiplicity is expected within an organizational context, meaning that a single individual will likely recognize and identify with numerous work roles. Third, each unique role may have a distinctive identity salience – it is neither necessary nor expected for an individual to have equivalent salience across roles. This stems from Ashforth and Humphrey's reflection on within-role calibrations "whereby one oscillates between personal engagement and personal disengagement" (1993, p. 101). A similar phenomenon is anticipated across roles. Finally, based on value (e.g., exchange or use) and control (e.g., internally or externally), an individual's salience may vary within a single role from quadrant to quadrant. For example, an individual may have greater identity salience with role responsibilities more closely aligned with autonomous emotional labor than responsibilities *within the same role* that are associated with indirect emotional labor.

What is the usefulness of the identity salience overlay? Of necessity, organizational interventions frequently are generalized by nature, aiming to reach far and wide within the organization. Yet because these interventions target people, the organization is wise to anticipate and consider the reaction to and receptiveness of these efforts through a lens of self and identity. Use of this lens positions the organization to consider and select interventions with greater flexibility, increasing the likelihood that the organization will provide multiple options and avoid single-approach strategies.

Returning briefly to the interventions outlined by Callahan and McCollum (2000), an organization might choose to implement emotional labor interventions of work design, employee wellness plans, and goal setting. While research supports the appropriateness of these types of interventions, the original model does not account for the varied employee responses and reactions to these efforts. The overlay of identity salience offers a deeper perspective. While it may prove unfeasible to individualize interventions for each single employee, the organization can increase intervention success through consideration of identity salience by subgroup population or empowering managers to adapt intervention strategies with identifiable individuals.

Additional exploration of this model adaptation should include a more in-depth application of identity salience to emotion management efforts. What else can identity salience tell us about the individual engaging in emotion management? Based on identity salience, can we anticipate differing reactions to emotion management efforts within each of the four quadrants? How might strategizing organizational interventions using this perspective influence the degree of identity salience among individuals and over time? Beyond identity salience, what additional factors may assist with a greater individual perspective regarding emotion management?

Conclusion

As a theory or model is considered for practical and research application, it is natural to view it from assorted perspectives to more fully explore and appreciate its contributions. A practitioner or researcher hoping to benefit from the theory or model surveys existing information and studies to help inform his current understanding and to build additional insight and awareness. He may endeavor to answer such questions as "How is this meaningful to me?" or "How can I make this more meaningful – to me and/or to others?"

This paper presented an overview of literature addressing self, identity, and emotion management. It outlined some key areas of overlap in these fields of study and research. In addition, it suggested a meaning-making adaptation of an existing emotion management model for the practitioner or researcher desiring a more individualized perspective on emotion management strategies. Identity salience is one approach for achieving a more targeted view of the individual involved in emotion management. Such a targeted perspective positions the organization for greater success. The individual can also expect to benefit from reduced emotional dissonance, as well as an increased sense of self-authenticity.

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College of Technology
Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, OH 43403-0301

Telephone: 419.372.9155

FAX: 419.372.8385

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